trees. The new unpainted wooden residence of the parish priest is near the church. The plaza of Siaton is unimproved except for a circle of cement used for fiesta dances, now covered with pungent copra, and a basketball court. Across the street from the plaza is a small wooden building which houses the telegraph and postoffice and offices of the municipal agricultural agent and the government midwife. To the rear of the postoffice building is a neat wooden Protestant church.

The new elementary school is the pride of the community and the center for social gatherings--functions usurped from the church. There are three painted wooden buildings, but the other structures are temporary classrooms of bamboo and nipa. The schoolyard is covered with a green lawn and there are cement paths lined with oleander and small shrubs. By the domestic science building is a struggling rose garden which every "progressive" school must have. Across the street from the school buildings are several sari-sari stores which cater to the appetites of the school children. Farther west a new concrete bridge spans the wide, shallow (in the dry season) Siaton River. Overlooking the bridge is Pangligiran hill where Don Antoy, a legendary supernatural, lives in a grand palace of marble and gold, invisible to ordinary humans.

The houses of the poblacion are similar to those seen along the National Road. However, there are some white wooden houses where local officials live. To the

south, about a 20-minute walk, is the sea, and fishermen have their boats, nets and their fish corrals in the offshore waters. To the west of the mouth of the Siaton River is Baybay, a small sitio in a coconut grove.

One could see Caticugan from the National Road were it not for the coconut palms. Caticugan, Naga, Talo-ot and Dangola are really one community, although known by different names and divided by low bluffs or shallow streams. Kinship ties, trading activities, land ownership, and friendships all bind the people in the different settlements into a functioning group. There are two main paths to Caticugan. One path skirts the cockpit which is empty except on Sundays or holidays, while the other path fords the river around a bend to the north. (See Plate XVIII.)[1] Taking the path by the cockpit one crosses the river, passes through a small willow-covered flood area and up a small rise to the fields of lower Caticugan, often called Pilapil (rice paddy) by the older residents. Northwest along the path one passes dead buri palms, killed by the process of making guhang, and the houses of the people. There is a little sari-sari on the porch of one house where cookies, pop, kerosene, lard, and matches are sold. Continuing, one comes to a tiny bamboo chapel and the only wooden residence, that of the richest man in Caticugan. The path finally ends at the bluffs of Dangola.

1 [plate XVII (p. 131) is missing -- ANALYST]

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constructed on the plaza to replace the building burnt by the Japanese. In 1948 a new concrete bridge was built (the pride of all the residents of the poblacion) over the Siaton River and a similar bridge over the Canaway River was finished in 1952. The Catholic church also was rebuilt in the same year. The former structure had been a temporary one since the 1925 earthquake. The fine two-story houses with ornate cement stairways that had been residences of the more affluent principalia and were burnt during the war have not been rebuilt. In parts of the poblacion one can see lonely cement stairways in weed-covered lots, leading upward to a house which no longer exists.

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Summary

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This historical survey of Caticugan and its larger milieu supports Kroeber's comments on stratificational aspects of Philippine culture.

> Layer after layer of culture is recognizable [in the Philippines], giving a complete transition from the most primitive condition to full participation in Western civilization...In the Philippines it is true that direct historical records...go back only four hundred years. But a constellation of circumstances has brought it about that the various ancient and modern influences that have reached the islands are often traceable to their sources...the contours

CHAPTER VIII

THE BARRIO DWELLING

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The dwelling typical of the Cateugan barriofolk, the materials used, household furnishings, methods of construction, and the various associated beliefs and practices with the home are described in this chapter. The materials and style of the typical Philippine rural dwelling have not changed radically for centuries. In the early 17th century one observer wrote: "Their houses are built on four posts; their walls are of bamboo and thatch, and are very small."[1]

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The typical barrio dwelling (balay) in Catiegan is a one- or two-room pile structure from one to five feet above the ground. Walls are of bamboo and nipa palm leaves; the roof is thatched with nipa shingles or cogon grass. Although nails and wire are used, rattan lashing [335] is the usual means of fastening the timbers and shingles. In 1939 Philippine Census states that nearly 69 per cent 362 of the Filipinos lived in "light material" houses; 78 per cent of the inhabitants of Negros Oriental and 70 per cent of the people of Negros Occidental occupied such residences.[2]

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[1] Pedro De Sant Pablo, O.S.F., "Compulsory Service by the Indians," Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XIX, p. 72. This account was written in 1620.

[2] The Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, pp. 190-1.

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The higher percentage of people living in "light material" dwellings in Negros Oriental, in contrast with Negros Occidental, is explained partly by fewer and smaller urban settlements in the former province. Another factor is the cement or wooden dwellings furnished for sugar cane workers in Negros Occidental. In Barrio Caticugan 99 per cent of the people lived in "light material" dwellings; in the poblacion I estimated that 85 per cent of the dwellings were of bamboo and nipa. Before the war, however, there were more wooden tin-roofed houses in the poblacion; this was not the case in Caticugan. All of the "heavy material" houses in the poblacion were burned during the last war; only a few of them had been rebuilt by 1952.

MOUNTAIN HOUSES AND THE MATERIALS USED

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The transitional point in Siaton River valley between dwellings with pounded bamboo walls (sasa) and cogon-grass-thatched roofs, and the more typical bamboo-nipa and nipa shingled house occurs in Sitios Lamtok and Balanan. (See Plate VI, Page 42.) North of this area most houses have pounded bamboo walls and cogon-thatched-roofs, although there are some houses of the lowland type. Pounded bamboo walls and cogon grass roofs are not regarded as superior to materials used in Caticugan or the poblacion. These materials are used because of the distance from the nipa palm swamps along the seacoast. It is difficult to carry the large bundles of nipa back from the coastal area; at

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bark now can be peeled easily from the trunk segments. This inner bark must be dried in the shade for several weeks before installation.

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The bark is nailed to the house framework or lashed with rattan. Nails make a neater walling and save time; small wooden discs are used to prevent the nail head from tearing through the bark. People who live in bark-walled dwellings often prefer them to nipa walling; they report that bark walls are cheaper, more durable and take less time to prepare. Bark walls, however, are typical only of dwellings near the forests, usually in pioneering communities opening new areas of interior farm land.

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In Siaton poblacion a few houses are built of "strong material," i.e., timber beams, wooden walls and floors, and corrugated iron roofs. The 1939 Philippine Census states that 4.6 per cent of the Filipinos then lived in "strong material" dwellings. These homes are usually inhabited by the principalia in Siaton and cluster near the plaza; before the last war the most elaborate houses surrounded the plaza. In these houses the typical split bamboo slat floor often yields preference to plank flooring. More "strong material" dwellings were found in Siaton poblacion before the last war; present high prices of materials makes the reconstruction of such houses costly.